



## Manuscript Studies

---

Volume 2

Issue 1 *Collectors and Collections in the History of  
Thai Manuscripts*

Article 6

---

5-4-2018

# Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Siam in Japan

Toshiya Unebe

Nagoya University, [jmcdan@sas.upenn.edu](mailto:jmcdan@sas.upenn.edu)

---

This paper is posted at ScholarlyCommons. [https://repository.upenn.edu/mss\\_sims/vol2/iss1/6](https://repository.upenn.edu/mss_sims/vol2/iss1/6)

For more information, please contact [repository@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:repository@pobox.upenn.edu).

---

# Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Siam in Japan

## **Abstract**

In this chapter, the textual contents of the illustrated samut khoi-s in Thailand, are examined. Samut khoi manuscripts are an important resource for the study of Siamese and Buddhist literature in the 18th and 19th centuries. Samut khoi-s are divided into two groups. Both groups use a script called “Khom” (อักษรขอม), but one group uses a thin character set, and the other a thick and calligraphic character set. The chief text of eighteenth century samut khoi-s, the Mahābuddhaguṇa, shows what great importance Thai Buddhists attached to the Buddha-anussati, the recollection of the Buddha. In the 19th century, there was a growth of the tale of Phra Malai in the Thai vernacular language — a story of a monk named Māleyya (in Pāli) who travels to hells to help people, and to Tāvatiṃsa heaven to meet the future Buddha Metteya — was very popular at funeral ceremonies.

## **Keywords**

Phra Malai, Abhidhamma, Samut Khoi, Siam, Thailand, Buddhism, Manuscripts, vernacular



# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

*A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

*(Spring 2017)*

---

*Manuscript Studies* (ISSN 2381-5329) is published semiannually  
by the University of Pennsylvania Press



The Schoenberg Institute  
for Manuscript Studies

---

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARIES

# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

---

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

(Spring 2017)

ISSN 2381-5329

Copyright © 2017 University of Pennsylvania Libraries  
and University of Pennsylvania Press. All rights reserved.

Published by the University of Pennsylvania Press,  
3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Printed in the U.S.A. on acid-free paper.

*Manuscript Studies* brings together scholarship from around the world and across disciplines related to the study of premodern manuscript books and documents, with a special emphasis on the role of digital technologies in advancing manuscript research. Articles for submission should be prepared according to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 16<sup>th</sup> edition, and follow the style guidelines found at <http://mss.pennpress.org>.

None of the contents of this journal may be reproduced without prior written consent of the University of Pennsylvania Press. Authorization to photocopy is granted by the University of Pennsylvania Press for libraries or other users registered with Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) Transaction Reporting Service, provided that all required fees are verified with CCC and paid directly to CCC, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, for database retrieval, or for resale.

## 2017 SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION:

Single issues: \$30

Print and online subscriptions: Individuals: \$40; Institutions: \$90; Full-time Students: \$30  
International subscribers, please add \$18 per year for shipping.

Online-only subscriptions: Individuals: \$32; Institutions: \$78

Please direct all subscription orders, inquiries, requests for single issues, address changes, and other business communications to Penn Press Journals, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104. Phone: 215-573-1295. Fax: 215-746-3636. Email: [journals@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:journals@pobox.upenn.edu). Prepayment is required. Orders may be charged to MasterCard, Visa, and American Express credit cards. Checks and money orders should be made payable to "University of Pennsylvania Press" and sent to the address printed directly above.

One-year subscriptions are valid January 1 through December 31. Subscriptions received after October 31 in any year become effective the following January 1. Subscribers joining midyear receive immediately copies of all issues of *Manuscript Studies* already in print for that year.

Postmaster: send address changes to Penn Press Journals, 3905 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

Visit *Manuscript Studies* on the web at [mss.pennpress.org](http://mss.pennpress.org).

# MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

*A Journal of the Schoenberg Institute for Manuscript Studies*

---

VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

---

*Special Issue:*  
*Collectors and Collections in the History of*  
*Thai Manuscripts*  
Guest Editor: Justin McDaniel

Dedication 1

## *Articles*

Illuminating Archives: Collectors and Collections in the  
History of Thai Manuscripts  
JUSTIN MCDANIEL 3

Henry D. Ginsburg and the Thai Manuscripts Collection at  
the British Library and Beyond  
JANA IGUNMA 22

Cultural Goods and Flotsam: Early Thai Manuscripts in  
Germany and Those Who Collected Them  
BAREND JAN TERWIEL 82

Thai Manuscripts in Italian Libraries: Three Manuscripts  
from G. E. Gerini's Collection Kept at the University of  
Naples "L'Orientale"  
CLAUDIO CICUZZA 106

Manuscripts in Central Thailand: Samut Khoi from  
Phetchaburi Province  
PETER SKILLING AND SANTI PAKDEEKHAM 125

Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Siam in Japan  
TOSHIYA UNEBE 151

The Chester Beatty Collection of Siamese Manuscripts  
in Ireland

JUSTIN McDANIEL 174

Siamese Manuscript Collections in the United States

SUSANNE RYUYIN KERES AND JUSTIN McDANIEL 202

*Reviews*

Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, eds. *The Medieval  
Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*

BENJAMIN C. TILGHMAN 239

Christopher Wright, Maria Argyrou and Charalambos  
Dendrinos. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Manuscript  
Collection of Lambeth Palace Library*

GEORGI PARPULOV 242

Orlanda S. H. Lie, Martine Meuwese, Mark Aussems,  
Hermina Joldersma. *Christine de Pizan in Bruges: “Le livre de  
la cité des dames” as “Het Bouc van de Stede der Vrouwen”*

HANNO WIJSMAN 247

York’s Archbishops’ Registers Revealed

ALEXANDER DEVINE 251

*Beyond Words: Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston Collections,*  
and Jeffrey F. Hamburger, William P. Stoneman, Anne-Marie  
Eze, Lisa Fagin Davis, and Nancy Netzer, eds. *Beyond Words:  
Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston Collections*

JESSICA BRANTLEY 256

*List of Manuscripts Cited*

263

## Manuscripts from the Kingdom of Siam in Japan

---

TOSHIYA UNEBE<sup>†</sup>  
*Nagoya University*

THERE ARE MANY IMPORTANT Buddhist artifacts from Siam (and Thailand), including collections of palm-leaf manuscripts, currently in Japan. Mercantile connections between the two regions extend back centuries, including an early mission from Ayutthaya that traveled to Edo for an audience with the shogun in 1621. It is also known that Red Seal ships from Japan sailed to the Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya between 1604 and 1636. However, the famous Sakoku Edict (*Sakoku-rei*) in 1636 greatly restricted foreign trade and travel. In the Meiji era, relations resumed in the nineteenth century, with the signing of the “Declaration of Amity and Commerce between Japan and Siam” (日暹修好通商に関する宣言), between King Chulalongkorn of Siam and Emperor Meiji of Japan in 1887. Significantly, King Chulalongkorn subsequently donated the Buddha’s relics to the Japanese Buddhist community in 1900. In the wake of this important gift, there were several transmissions of Thai manuscripts to Japan during the Meiji era.<sup>1</sup>

---

Toshiya Unebe (1968–2016) passed away during the completion of this issue, which is now dedicated to his memory. The journal and issue editors revised his article for publication, and all errors should be presumed to be theirs.

1 To get a general picture of the Buddhist relationship between Thailand and Japan, see Nawaporn Hanphai boon, *Tai to Nihon no Bukkyo Koryu* [The Buddhist relationship between Thailand and Japan: Establishing diplomatic relations to the end of World War II (1887–

In this article, I will discuss the place of Thai manuscripts in the cultural exchange between Siam and Japan, especially the Royal Manuscripts presented to the Kakuozan Nittaiji temple and other palm-leaf collections kept at Japanese universities and libraries. I will also briefly discuss collections of *samut kboi* (illustrated folding paper manuscripts) of the Phra Malai dating from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century preserved in museums and libraries in Japan.

### *Kakuozan Nittaiji Temple Collection*

In 1898, William C. Peppe and his team excavated an old mound at Piprahwa, located in the border area of northern India near Nepal, and found a large stone coffer that contained five small vases with ashes and jewels inside. One of the vases had an inscription stating that it was a reliquary containing the ashes of the Buddha, *Śākyamuni*. The Indian government presented some of the relics of the Buddha excavated in Piprahwa to the king of Siam, Rama V, also known as King Chulalongkorn the Great (พระบาทสมเด็จพระปรมินทรมหาจุฬาลงกรณ์ พระจุลจอมเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว, 1853–1910). Later, in 1900, in compliance with an enthusiastic request from the Japanese government, the king issued an imperial edict agreeing to donate a portion of the Buddha's relics to Japan as a gift to Japanese Buddhists.

In response to this edict, the Japanese Buddhist community sent a delegation to Thailand comprising representatives of all the Buddhist schools. It was headed by Koen Otani (大谷光演, 1875–1963) from the Higashi Honganji temple, in the Otani branch of the Jodo Shinshu sect. The king handed a portion of the Buddha's relics over to the delegation in person at the Imperial Palace in Bangkok on 15 June 1900. The relics are now enshrined in the *Hoan-to* (the Stupa for enshrinement, completed in 1918) at Kakuozan Nittaiji (*Temple of Japan-Thailand*: 覚王山日泰寺) in Nagoya.<sup>2</sup>

---

1945)], Ph.D. dissertation, Waseda University, Graduate School of Asia-Pacific Studies, 2012, available at <http://dspace.wul.waseda.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2065/39997/1/Honbun-6254.pdf>, accessed 13 December 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Nittaiji was formerly known as Nissenji (*Temple of Japan-Siam*, 日蓮寺). Since the Siam changed its name to Thailand in 1939, the name of the temple was changed to Nittaiji in 1941.

In addition to the Buddha's relics, an ancient bronze statue of the Buddha, said to have been cast in Chiang Saen (then known as Ngoen Yang), was also presented to Japanese Buddhists. It has been enshrined in the main hall of the temple since its foundation in 1904.<sup>3</sup> In 1903, a year before the temple's completion, Shigehiro Komuro (小室重弘, 1858–1908) compiled and published a record of the delegation for receiving the Buddha's relics, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*.<sup>4</sup> In several places, the author refers to the donation of Buddhist manuscripts from the queen of the kingdom of Siam.<sup>5</sup>

First, the author quotes (a translation of) an imperial edict issued after a banquet at the Imperial Palace on 18 June. In it, King Chulalongkorn tells delegates to place the statue described above together with the relics. He continues that the queen will donate a copy of the Tipiṭaka scriptures later because it was taking a long time to prepare the wrapping cloth for them.<sup>6</sup> Later, as promised, under the queen's order, Siam's first minister of education, Chao Phraya Phasakorawong (ภาสกรวงศ์, 1849–1920), handed Manjiro Inagaki (稲垣満次郎, 1861–1961), the Japanese minister resident in the kingdom of Siam, an abridgment of the Tipiṭaka.<sup>7</sup> Phasakorawong's letter, dated 3 September, states that the abridgment of the Tipiṭaka in seven volumes was transcribed by a monk, Chaisurin (ชัยสุรินทร์ : Jayasurindra). It also describes the manuscript's frame (case or box?) as decorated with mother of pearl with an inner cover of silk brocade with golden thread, and

---

3 See Shigehiro Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi* [History of the transmission of relics of Śākya-muni] (Tokyo: Uchida Kappanjo, 1903), 69–70, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/816612>, accessed 13 December 2016. Komuro's description is based on (a document that recorded) the king's words about the statue at the banquet mentioned below. In Thailand, there is still a corresponding royal document in Thai language dated 18 June 1900, the day of the banquet. I thank Yutthanawarakorn Saengaram, a curator of the Bangkok National Museum who visited Nittaiji temple on 27 June 2014, for showing me the document with a translation.

4 Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*.

5 Komuro does not specify the name of the queen. However, according to fig. 2.2 in the book, she can be identified as Queen Saovabha Phongsri (เสาวภาผ่องศรี), also known as Queen Mother Sri Bajrindra.

6 Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*, 68.

7 The minister was appointed Japan's first minister resident on 31 March 1897. The reception of the Buddha's relics happened due to his tireless efforts.

the manuscripts as having golden-threaded knife-shaped ivory title tags.<sup>8</sup> According to a letter dated 29 September 29 from Inagaki to Ven. Jakujun Murata (村田寂順, 1838–1905), the secretary-general of the reception committee for the Buddha's relics, the manuscripts donated by the queen were in one packet and their wrapping cloths had been designed and made by the queen herself.<sup>9</sup> The author of the record says that these manuscripts arrived at Myohoin (妙法院) temple, Kyoto, on 30 October 1900, and were temporarily placed there until they were moved to Banshoji (万松寺) temple, Nagoya, on 15 November 1902. The author also says that the box for the manuscripts was made of teak.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, the Kakuoizan Nittaiji temple does not seem to have any official documents to confirm this record. At present, the temple holds a certain number of palm-leaf Pali manuscripts in Khom script.<sup>11</sup> In 1999, Nobuyuki Kashiwahara roughly classified their scattered leaves and fascicles (*phuuk*) into seven groups.<sup>12</sup> Later, Tanabe presented these catalogued groups again in an English article, using the word “category” to define groupings of physical materials.<sup>13</sup> However, the provenance of the manuscripts in Kashi-

---

8 Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*, 73–74.

9 Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*, 81–82.

10 Komuro, *Shakuson-goigyo-denrai-shi*, 72.

11 However, as an exception, Category IV consists of printed palm-leaf manuscripts in Thai characters. See also the following note.

12 Nobuyuki Kashiwahara, “Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in Nittaiji Temple” [Japanese], *Journal of Pali and Buddhist Studies* 14 (2000): 131–38, <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110002932990>, accessed 13 December 2016.

13 Kazuko Tanabe, “A Comparative Study of the Differences Between the Folding Book Kept in Kakuoizan Nittaiji and the Folding Book Kept in Wat Hua Krabu” [Japanese], *Journal of Pali and Buddhist Studies* 26 (2012): 193–221, <http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110009586370>, accessed 13 December 2016. A list of all the manuscripts appears in Kashiwahara, “Palm-Leaf Manuscripts Kept in Nittaiji Temple.” Tanabe presented its English version with slight modifications in Tanabe, “Comparative Study of the Differences.” Category I, *Abhidhammatthasangāha*, is stored in a box with a note about its provenance, stating that it was donated by someone named Tashichi Kanamori (金森太七). The teak box of Category V (seven books of *Abhidhamma*) reveals that the manuscripts were sent to Nissenji by Phra Bibidh Sali (พระพิพิธสาลี) through the good office of a court Hutara (Yoshinori Futara: 二荒芳徳), who visited Siam with Japanese Boy Scouts in January 1931. However, since it also reveals that its contents were “Buddhist sermons printed in Siamese characters on palm leaves,” the box must have



wahara's categories II, III, V, and VI is unknown. Unfortunately, none of these closely correspond to the description of the manuscripts donated by the queen. The frame or case, the silk brocade cover, and the knife-shaped title tags mentioned in the record must have been lost long ago.

Komuro's 1903 record of the gift describes the manuscripts as "the abridgment of Tipiṭaka in seven volumes." Category V in Kashiwara's survey consists of seven books of Abhidhamma, which may have once been bundled with wooden boards inlaid with mother of pearl, although only one of the two boards remains. Category VI consists of a manuscript copy of the *Abbidhammatthavibhāvanī-ṭikā-saṅgraha*, a commentary on the Abhidhamma, which Thai Buddhists see as the highest and most important teaching of the Buddha, in seven fascicles. These fascicles are bundled with boards decorated with black lacquer and gold. And since both the main text and the commentary are contained in the seven volumes, either of them could be the one mentioned in the record.

However, it is more likely that Kashiwara's Category III, which consists of *Pāṭimokkha* and *Bhikkunīpāṭimokkha* (Vinaya) together in one fascicle, *Suttanipāta* (Sutta) in four fascicles, and *Mohaccchedanī* (a commentary on *Abbidhamma-mātikā*) in two fascicles, is the one donated by the queen. Although there are a total of eight fascicles (*phuuk*) and not seven, its contents are precisely "the abridgment of Tipiṭaka" (fig. 1).<sup>14</sup> Also, the contents seem to be deliberately selected. In particular, the selection of the *Bhikkunīpāṭimokkha*, the rules for the *bhikkhunī* (nuns') order, seem to be very special, as the nuns' order does not exist in Thailand.<sup>15</sup>

The decoration of the manuscripts in Category III also shows its relation to the royal family. The binding boards of the set of the fascicles and title leaves of each fascicle are beautifully decorated with black lacquer and gold.

---

originally been for printed palm-leaf manuscripts in Thai characters (Category IV). Phra Bibidh Sali also sent a Phra Malai paper manuscript in 1939 (Category VII), which I will briefly mention in the final section.

14 However, the title leaf of the second *phuuk* (fascicle) of the *Suttanipāta* is missing, and it looks at first glance as if it consists of seven fascicles. But I am not sure if this was deliberate.

15 Justin McDaniel suggested this point to me on his visit to Nittaiji temple on 27 June 2014.

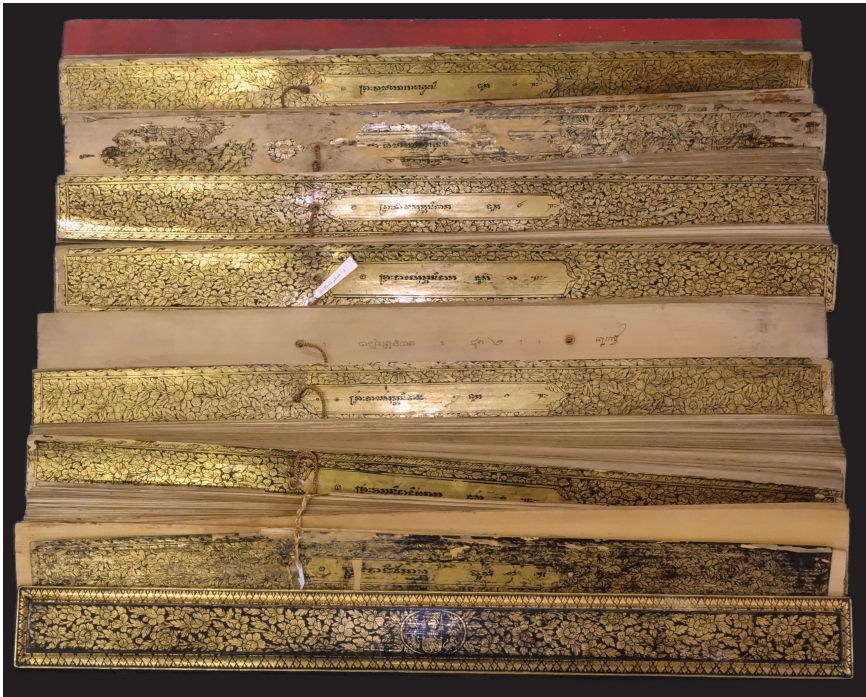


FIGURE 1. Abridgment of Tipiṭaka. Palm-leaf manuscripts (Category III). Kakuozan Nittaiji temple, Nagoya. Photograph by Toshiya Unebe.

In the center of each binding board is a royal insignia, probably related to King Chulalongkorn (fig. 2).<sup>16</sup>

Lacquered and gold decoration of title leaves are commonly found in royal manuscript collections. The only Thai collection I have seen so far that matches the Category III manuscripts is the renowned collection preserved at the Wat Pho temple called “Deb jumnum,” in which all of the title

---

16 See Tanabe, “Comparative Study of the Differences,” 220 n. 3, who suggests that this is the crest of King Chulalongkorn, Rama V. However, it can be a more general “National Achievement” motif used during the reigns of Rama III to Rama V, according to the information available at [www.hubert-herald.nl/Thailand1.htm](http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Thailand1.htm). Since the collection was presumably donated by the queen, the likelihood of this being a “National Achievement” motif (not the crest of the king himself) seems reasonable.



FIGURE 2. Royal insignia related to King Chulalongkorn. Photograph by Toshiya Unebe.

leaves for each fascicle are decorated with illustrations of the assembly of gods (*deb jumnum*) in lacquer and gold. The title leaves of the Category III manuscripts are adorned with designs of flowers and animals with similar lacquer and gold.

However, the Category III manuscripts at the Kakuoizan Nittaiji temple do not now have the accessories that were described (such as tags), and we cannot exclude the possibility that other unknown manuscript collections exist in the temple or elsewhere. Nonetheless, it is still probable that these are the manuscripts presented by the queen of Siam, because there seems little other explanation for a collection like that at the temple to exist.

## *The Otani University Library Collection and Other Collections Transmitted in the Meiji Era*

According to the *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in the Otani University Library*, published in 1995, there are sixty-four bundles of palm-leaf manuscripts, including manuscripts in the Khmer script (fifty-nine bundles), manuscripts in the Burmese script (four bundles), and a manuscript in the Mon script (one bundle) in the Otani University Library.<sup>17</sup> They form one group and are believed to have been given by the king of Siam when the Buddha's relics were donated.<sup>18</sup> It seems, however, that there are no official documents about their acquisition at the library. As Nagasaki remarks, it is puzzling that neither Komuro (1903) nor Bunyiu Nanjio (南條文雄, 1849–1927), who was one of eighteen members of the delegation and the second dean of Otani University from 1903, mentioned this big collection of manuscripts in his autobiography.<sup>19</sup> Even though both Nanjio and Komuro wrote about the aforementioned “abridgment of Tipiṭaka in seven volumes transcribed in palm leaves” donated by the queen, they curiously remained silent about the much bigger palm-leaf collection now preserved at the Otani University Library.

The first official notice about the Otani collection appeared eleven years after the delegation's trip, in the newsletter of the Shinshu Ōtani-ha sect (Shinshu University is the former name of Otani University).<sup>20</sup> Nagasaki translated a passage from the article as follows: “Siamese palm leaf scrip-

---

17 *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in the Otani University Library* (Kyoto: Otani University, 1995).

18 According to Yohei Shimizu, even when the Burmese script is used, it is suspected that the Otani manuscripts were transcribed in the kingdom of Siam because the format of the manuscripts, such as the size of the leaves and the line numbers within one leaf, follows Siamese rather than Burmese custom. Further research is needed. There is also another group of Lan Na and miscellaneous manuscripts in the Otani University Library, of which the provenance is also unclear.

19 Houjun Nagasaki, “Introduction,” in *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts Kept in the Otani University Library*, li–lxi, at liii. Bunyiu Nanjio, *Kaikyuroku* [Reminiscences] (Tokyo: Daiyukaku, 1927), <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1171197>, accessed 13 December 2016.

20 “Present State of the Shinshu University Library” [Japanese], *Shubo*, no. 113, 25 February 1911.



tures were presented by the former Emperor of Siam to the present abbot. The manuscripts are all written on *tāla* palm leaves. Altogether, there are 60 sets. Each set is 1 *shaku* 9 *sun* [about 1 foot, 11 inches] long, 1 *sun* 8 *bu* [about 2 inches] wide and 5 to 6 *sun* [6 to 7 inches] thick. They are decorated with vermilion and gold paint.”<sup>21</sup> Here “the former Emperor of Siam” refers to King Chulalongkorn, who had presented the Buddha’s relics to Japan and died in 1910. The “present abbot” refers to Koen Otani, who had been the leader of the delegation and became the chief abbot of Higashi Honganji in 1908. The reference to “60 sets” of palm-leaf manuscripts roughly corresponds to the sixty-four bundles preserved in the Otani University Library. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the date of this donation. However, we can at least know that the Otani University Library collection is separate from the special “abridgment of Tipiṭaka in seven volumes” donated to all Japanese Buddhists by the queen, and intended to be placed where the Buddha’s relics reside.

For many years, this 1911 notice has been the only piece of information about the provenance of the Otani University Library collection. There has not been any external evidence to confirm this article until recently. However, fortuitously, while the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library), Japan’s largest Asian studies library, was under a large-scale renovation for several years leading up to 2011, a palm-leaf manuscript collection of eighteen fascicles kept in a wooden box was found.<sup>22</sup> This collection consists of *Vessantara Jātaka* (two fascicles), the *Abhidhamma* (seven fascicles), *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* (two fascicles), and grammatical treatises (about seven fascicles, with disordered leaves).

The provenance of this collection is written on the base of the lid, according to the usual Japanese custom for precious artifacts and called *bakogaki* (box writing). It reads: “At the turning point of 32nd year of Meiji, the chief

---

21 Nagasaki, “Introduction,” liii–liv. For the original, see “Present State of the Shinshu University Library,” pp. 17–18.

22 Fumio Shoji, “On the Unpublished Pāli Palm-Leaf Manuscripts Written in Khmer and Formerly Kept by Ekai Kawaguchi” [Japanese], *Toyobunko Shobo* 45 (2014): 113–40, at 116–17, <http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/library3/s13-shouji.pdf>, accessed 13 December 2016, has reported this in detail.

abbot of Higashi Honganji temple, Mr. Otani went to Siam in order to receive the Buddha's relics respectfully. And he returned having obtained this [collection of palm-leaf manuscripts]. After some time, he donated it to me. As I anticipate, I give this to Ekai Kawaguchi.<sup>23</sup> Shigenobu Okuma [seal]." The author of this note, Shigenobu Okuma (大隈重信, 1838–1922), was the eighth and seventeenth prime minister of Japan. According to the note, the collection was originally donated to Koen Otani on the occasion of the delegation for receiving the Buddha's relics during the 32nd year of Meiji. Although the 32nd year of Meiji was 1899, and this note seems to have misunderstood it as one year earlier, this must be a reference to "the Siamese palm leaf scriptures presented by the former Emperor of Siam" in the *Shubo* newsletter cited above. This note is supporting evidence that there was a palm-leaf collection personally given to Koen Otani. We also can understand that (a part of) it was presented to a big political figure at that time, Shigenobu Okuma, by Koen Otani himself.<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, this note does not explicitly tell when Koen Otani obtained the collection, although it gives a vague impression that he brought the manuscripts with him to Japan in 1900. According to the *Shubo* article in 1911, on the other hand, Nagasaki suggests the possibility of a later acquisition, since it was meant to describe the "present state" of the Otani University Library.<sup>25</sup> If the article perceived the news of the manuscript as the "present state" or recent news of the Otani University Library, roughly estimating, the manuscripts probably arrived around 1911 or a little earlier, but not at the time of the delegation for the Buddha's relics.

---

23 The original meaning of this is rather obscure here.

24 According to a letter from Manjiro Inagaki to Shigenobu Okuma, dated 12 February 1900, Inagaki asked Okuma to help form a delegation for the Buddha's relics, consisting of representatives of different sects of Japanese Buddhism (Ryokichi Hayakawa, ed., *Okuma Shigenobu Kankei Monjo* [Documents related to Shigenobu Okuma], vol. 6 [Tokyo: Nihon-shiseki-kyokai, 1935], 327–28, <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1920471>, accessed 13 December 2016. From this letter, we can presume that Okuma played a certain role in the formation of the delegation, and this could be a reason for Otani's donation.

25 Hojun Nagasaki, "A survey of the palm leaf manuscripts in the Otani University Library collection and its acquisition" [Japanese], *Annual Memoirs of the Ōtani University Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute* 16 (1999): 127–32, at 129.

Sometime after acquiring the manuscripts from Koen Otani, Shigenobu Okuma gave them to a monk-scholar, Ekai Kawaguchi (河口慧海, 1866–1945), who was famous for his journeys to Tibet and Nepal. As Shoji reports, a note is pasted on the face of the box lid with a title, “Siamese palm-leaf manuscript in fifteen volumes,” and a classification number “*ho he 2 jo*.”<sup>26</sup> This type of note was used by Ekai Kawaguchi for classifying his collection, and therefore we can confirm that this manuscript once belonged to him.

Again, there is no official record of the donation of the manuscript collection to Toyo Bunko. Ekai Kawaguchi donated his huge collection of Tibetan and Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures and others to Toyo Bunko on 31 December 1940, but the collection of palm-leaf manuscripts was not recorded in a handlist of this donation. However, it could have been donated to Toyo Bunko on the same day, or at some time between that day and 24 February 1945, when Ekai Kawaguchi died.<sup>27</sup> The collection remained uncatalogued from then until it was discovered during the 2011 renovation.

It is interesting to note that there is a similar collection of palm-leaf manuscripts in Taisho University. According to an exhibition catalogue published in 2003, it is kept in two wooden boxes and includes Pali manuscripts in the Khom script, including five out of the last ten *jātakas*, *Kathāvatthu*, and *Visuddhimagga*.<sup>28</sup> Although the catalogue describes it as a “Cambodian manuscript,” it is no doubt a collection of manuscripts from Thailand. It is pity that, once again, there is no documentation about these manuscripts’ provenance. Only the note “Cambodia (*Shu-Dai*)” is found on a label pasted on the face of the lid of the boxes. The abbreviation “*Shu-Dai*” indicates the name of a predecessor of Taisho University, Shukyo Daigaku. This merged with two other Buddhist schools in 1925 and became Taisho University in 1926. This means that the collection came to the library before the merger.

---

26 Shoji, “On the Unpublished Pāli Palm-Leaf Manuscripts,” 116–17.

27 The handlist is accessible at [http://124.33.215.236/Database/Kawaguchi\\_collection.pdf](http://124.33.215.236/Database/Kawaguchi_collection.pdf). I appreciate Fumio Shoji for providing me with the idea and information about the handlist.

28 Yasuo Matsunami, “The Cambodian Manuscripts and Burmese Manuscripts” [Japanese], in *Taishō Daigaku shozō shiryō zuroku: Bukkyō hen*, 38–42 (Tokyo: Taishō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2003).

Yoshimoto, who investigated this collection of palm-leaf manuscripts, presumed that it could originally have formed a part of the collection given to Koen Otani, based on the similarity between the *jātaka* manuscripts at the Otani University Library and those in the Taisho University Library.<sup>29</sup> Judging from the textual content and considerably large quantity of text, this is fairly plausible, as there were few opportunities to obtain a collection like this.

Further, since Ekai Kawaguchi taught the Tibetan language and Tibetan Buddhism at Shukyo Daigaku (later Taisho University) from 1924, and had donated his collection of Tibetan materials and other items to its library in November 1923, there could be a connection between the Taisho University collection and the Toyo Bunko collection given by Ekai Kawaguchi. Like the Toyo Bunko collection, perhaps the Taisho University collection could have been a part of Kawaguchi's collection, which was given to him by Okuma Shigenobu, to whom it had been originally presented by Koen Otani. However, we cannot say this is the only possibility, as many other major figures in Buddhist studies who were active in the Meiji era were also involved in the foundation of the Taisho University. Further investigation on the manuscripts is necessary, even if it is unlikely that any internal evidence will be found.

According to Fujiyoshi, another private collection of Pali palm-leaf manuscripts of the same era is preserved in Japan.<sup>30</sup> The Jodo sect sent a monk, Kyokujo Omune (概旭乗, 1873–1937), to Siam to study Siamese Buddhism in 1898.<sup>31</sup> When he came back briefly to Japan in 1905 after studying for seven years, he received a statue of the Buddha, a bowl for alms, a footprint of the Buddha, and several kinds of palm-leaf manuscripts. They were apparently presented by the king of Siam on his return home.<sup>32</sup>

---

29 Shingyo Yoshimoto, "Pali-go Baiyo Shahon no Nazo" (Mystery of Pali palm-leaf manuscripts), *Shoko* 23 (2006): 10–11; *Taishō Daigaku shozō shiryō zuroku*.

30 Jikai Fujiyoshi, "Omune Kyokujo (Omune Kiokuyo) no Shougai" [The life of Omune Kyokujo], *Bukkyo-ronso* 12 (1968): 174–77; Jikai Fujiyoshi, *Indo to Thai no Bukkyo* [Buddhism in India and Thailand] (Tokyo: Daito Shuppansha, 1991).

31 He spelled his name "Kiokuyo," probably influenced by Thai pronunciation.

32 However, according to the note on the face of the box lid of one of the manuscripts that are now kept in his home temple in Saga prefecture, it was presented to Kyokujo by the king



## Early Seventeenth-Century Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in Japan

In Japan, a few Pali palm-leaf manuscripts in the Khom script have been handed down to the present day, but they are all fragmentary. They are thought to have been brought to Japan in the early seventeenth century by merchants.

In 2011, an exhibition titled *Artisanship and Aesthetic of Japan and Thailand* toured the Bangkok National Museum in Thailand and the Kyushu National Museum in Japan. In the catalogue of this exhibition, a curious manuscript preserved in the Matsura Historical Museum, located in Hirado (a port town in the present-day Nagasaki Prefecture), was reported by Ayumi Harada, a curator at the Kyushu National Museums.<sup>33</sup> According to Harada, this manuscript is said to have been brought to Japan in 1616 by a Japanese merchant, Kurozaemon Ozaki (尾崎九郎左右衛門, ?–1665), who traveled to “Magadha country in Tenjiku” in 1614.<sup>34</sup> Although “Tenjiku” is a designation for India in Japanese, in this era it was used for Southeast Asian countries too.<sup>35</sup> According to Harada, “the palm-leaf manuscripts

---

of Siam and it arrived at Japan on 18 June 1898. It seems that he received it in his arrival year and sent it in advance. See the pictures and the short descriptions in Fujiyoshi, “Omune Kyokujo,” frontispieces. See also Hanphaiboon, *Tai to Nihon no Bukkyo Koryu* [The Buddhist relationship between Thailand and Japan: Establishing diplomatic relations to the end of World War II (1887–1945)]. He refers to two other transmissions of palm-leaf manuscripts—that is, a collection of “60 and odd bundles” given to Tokuno Ikuta (Oda) (生田(織田)得能) in 1890 (50) and manuscripts presented to Kenshin Asano (浅野研眞), representative of the All Japan Federation of Young Buddhists Association in 1937 (165). Further research is needed, especially for the former’s whereabouts. Since Tokuno Oda is a famous monk-scholar who belonged to the Shinshu Otani sect (but not affiliated with Otani University), we should verify whether his “60 and odd bundles” are not confused with Koen Otani’s collection presented by the king, as well as the reliability of the *Shubo* article published eleven long years after the delegation.

33 Ayumi Harada, “An Ayutthaya Buddha Brought to Japan,” in *Artisanship and aesthetic of Japan and Thailand* (Dazaifu: Kyushu National Museum, 2011), 294. I thank Peter Skilling for notifying me of this article.

34 Harada, “An Ayutthaya Buddha,” 95.

35 As Santi Pakdeekham and Jacqueline Filliozat kindly informed me, in 1614 the king of Siam was Somdet Phra Boromma Trailokanat Songtham (1611–1628). His reign was known for commencement of trade with foreign nations, especially the Netherlands and Japan. The

which Kurozaemon brought back to Japan were in fact were not genuine palm leaves but a thick paper made from tree bark, on which Khmer script was written in ink.” This is a peculiar fact. Although she suspects that the material may have been *khoi* paper used in Siam, the photo shows that it is completely different from usual *samut khoi*, a paper manuscript made from *khoi* paper. I visited Hirado with two colleagues in March 2014 to do research at the museum and Zeshinji (formerly known as Zekouji) temple, where the manuscript was originally preserved. The manuscript in question is titled *Zekouji-zou Tara-yo Bonsbo*, which means “a Sanskrit manuscript (*patra*) made of a *tāla* leaf preserved at Zekouji temple” (fig. 3). Although it looks like palm leaves, it is actually made of a sheet of high-quality paper. The text in Pali (not in Sanskrit) is written in Khom script, which looks rounder than that found in the usual Rattanakosin palm-leaf manuscripts. Since, unlike with a palm leaf, the letters cannot be incised on the paper with a stylus, they were probably written with pen and ink. The text is from Chapter 8 of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (*Kumārapabba*), the chapter that narrates the giving away of Prince Vessantara’s children to the villainous Brahmin Jujaka.

The provenance of the manuscript is recorded in a document accompanying it that was written by Bunzaemon Naoyuki Tamura (田村文右衛門直之), a retainer of the Hirado Domain, on 15 May 1706, and also with the Ozaki family’s genealogical record kept at Zeshinji temple. These two documents seem to have a common source. Since a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Ayutthaya-style standing statue of the Buddha also still exists in this temple, it is not unreasonable to believe that Kurozaemon Ozaki went to Ayutthaya. However, a paper manuscript disguised as palm leaves seems improbable, as palm leaves must have been readily available for Ayutthaya people.

Our perplexity disappeared, however, when the curator of the museum showed us another unstudied manuscript. This was a Sanskrit manuscript in Siddham script made of two sheets of the same high-quality paper used

---

king filled his guards with foreign mercenaries, including Japanese. There was a Japanese town in Ayutthaya. It is highly plausible that “Tenjiku” in that era was the kingdom of Siam for Japanese merchants in that era.

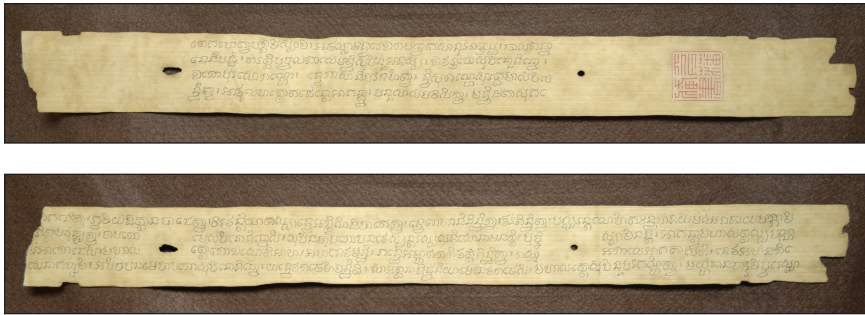


FIGURE 3. *Vessantara Jātaka*. Paper manuscript. Matsura Historical Museum, Hirado. Photographs by Toshiya Unebe.

for the Khom script manuscript. Its appearance was very familiar to us as Buddhist scholars. As soon as we saw it, we understood that it was a well-made replica of the famous Horyuji manuscript of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* and *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* edited by Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio in 1884 at Oxford University (fig. 4).<sup>36</sup>

A note on the lid of box of the Sanskrit replica says that it is a Horyuji Sanskrit manuscript belonging to the Rakusaido Library, which was founded by the ninth feudal lord of Hirado, Seizan Matsura (松浦静山, 1760–1841), who was well known as both a swordsman and cultural elite, but it does not note that it is a replica. The ownership stamp of the library is on the manuscript. The library was one of the precursors of the present Matsura Historical Museum. It holds quite a good collection of replicas of fine artifacts from various areas of Japan, including the famous *byōbu* screen picturing the Battle of Nagashino. It could have been Seizan Matsura himself who ordered the production of the replicas to be included in his library collection.

36 The original manuscript can be seen on the website of the National Museums, Japan: <http://www.emuseum.jp>. F. Max Müller and Nanjio Bunyiu, eds., *The Ancient Palm-Leaves: Containing the Prajñā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra and the Uṣṇīṣa-Vigaya-Dhāraṇī* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), also records two old reproductions and transcriptions of the same manuscripts. The Hirado manuscript seems to be older than them.



FIGURE 4. A replica of the Horyuji Sanskrit manuscript. Paper manuscript. Matsura Historical Museum, Hirado. Photographs by Toshiya Unebe.

We have concluded that it seems very likely that the other manuscript was also a replica of an original Pāli Zekouji manuscript, since another manuscript of the same sort of material turned out to be a high-quality replica. Seizan may have wanted a replica of the famed Buddhist manuscript kept at Zekouji temple from “Magadha country in Tenjiku,” which had been transmitted in his domain, Hirado. It also has the ownership stamp of the library. With it is a short appraisal note by Kenkado Kimura (木村兼葭堂, 1736–1802), a famous literary figure who lived in Osaka in Seizan Matura’s time. In it, Kimura judges that the letters used in the manuscript are those of “Minami-Tenjiku” (South-India), a term that covered Southeast Asian countries in the Edo era.<sup>37</sup>

The date of the replica is probably late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. So then, we should ask, what happened to the original Zekouji early seventeenth-century manuscript? Unfortunately, we may never know. The present abbot of the Zeshinji temple suggested to us that it might have been lost over several gaps of succession that the temple has experienced over time.

Although the replica of the Ayutthaya palm-leaf manuscript in the Matura Historical Museum is precious and has its own value, it is still not the original. However, there are additional Ayutthaya palm-leaf manuscripts in Japan. Oral tradition in Takasago city, another port town in present-day Hyogo Prefecture, which is located more than six hundred kilometers east of Hirado, tells that a traveler from Takasago named Tenjiku Tokube (天竺徳兵衛, 1612–1695) also brought *baitarayo*, manuscripts (*patra*) of the *tāla* tree, back with him to Japan. His name means “Tokube, who went to *Tenjiku* (India).” It is said that in 1626, at the age of fifteen, he was hired by a trading company in Kyoto and went aboard a Japanese Red Seal ship.<sup>38</sup>

---

37 See Takahiko Ishizaki, “A Representation of India in the Early Edo Period of Japan,” *Proceedings of the Papers Presented at Consortium for Asian and African Studies (CAAS) 3rd International Conference*, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 16–18 February 2012, ed. Toru Aoyama (Tokyo: Office for International Academic Strategy [OFIAS], Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), 213–23, at 216–17, <http://www.tufs.ac.jp/ofias/j/caas/Takahiko%20Ishizaki.pdf>, accessed 13 December 2016.

38 The information is chiefly based on Buunzo Yanagisawa, *Tenjiku-tokubei-jikki* [Real record of Tenjiku Tokube] (Osaka: Tanaka Tauemon, 1888), <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992453>, accessed 13 December 2016. Yanagisawa was trying to demystify the legends of

However, in the Edo period, “Tenjiku Tokube” became more popular as a character of Kabuki drama and Joruri puppet dramas, where he was given the villain’s role as a man aiming to subvert Japan with foreign magic and sorcery.<sup>39</sup> It has been difficult to draw out a real image of him as a historical actor separate from these legends.

In August and September 2014, I visited three temples in Takasago that were said to have manuscripts brought to Japan by Tenjiku Tokube. In Jurinji temple, there is a Pali palm-leaf manuscript in Khom script (fig. 5). The letters used have a rounder look, almost the same as those found in the Hirado replica. Santi Pakdeekham, assistant professor at Srinakharinwirot University, has confirmed that this type of letter seems to have been used in the early to middle Ayutthaya period. It is amazing to note how the letters are so perfectly copied in the Hirado replica, since the replica was made in such a different time and place from the original, in late eighteenth-century Japan.

Curiously enough, the text transcribed in the Jurinji leaf is from the same chapter of the same story of the *Vessantara Jātaka* as that in Hirado. The text shows that the Hirado leaf immediately precedes the Jurinji leaf. Unfortunately, the Hirado leaf is broken and the leaf number in the left margin of back side is missing. However, as the front-side text of the Hirado leaf is transcribed only in the center column, and the back side uses the entire surface of the leaf, we can understand that this leaf is the second leaf in a fascicle, ending in *-ā*.<sup>40</sup> The Jurinji leaf has the number *kī*, meaning it is the fourth leaf. It seems reasonable to presume that the Hirado leaf has

---

Tenjiku Tokube. Still, it is more like light reading than a serious historical study. In this book, he remains a legendary figure.

39 To understand this image of him, see Toyo Ozaki, *Tenjiku Tokube Yojutsu-den* [Legend of Tenjiku Tokube’s sorcery] (Tokyo, 1885), <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/992453>, accessed 13 December 2016. This includes pictures of Tokube’s notorious magic performed on a gigantic toad.

40 Usually a fascicle begins with a title leaf, a few blank leaves, a first leaf numbered with the vowel *-a* that has a blank front side and back side with text in the center column only, and a second leaf numbered with the vowel *-ā* that has a front side with text in the center column only and a back side with text on the entire surface. From the third leaf onward, the text is transcribed on the entire surface of both sides.





FIGURE 5. *Vessantara Jātaka*. Palm-leaf manuscripts. Jurinji temple, Takasago. Photographs by Toshiya Unebe.

the number *kā* and there was only one additional leaf, the third leaf, numbered *ki*, between the Hirado leaf and the Jurinji leaf.

Additionally, a manuscript leaf of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (fig. 6) is held in the Shinjoji temple, also in Takasago city. This consists of the ending of the same Chapter 8 and the beginning part of Chapter 9 (*Maddīpabba*) as the other leaves discussed above, in this case numbered *khī*.

At present, the original Hirado manuscript is lost. Unfortunately, there are no documents that witness the provenance of the Takasago manuscripts, other than rumor and legend. Still, we can probably see these three leaves as belonging to one and the same fascicle containing Chapter 8 of the *Vessantara Jātaka*, transcribed in sixteen leaves numbered from *ka* to *khī*. It is unlikely that manuscripts of different provenances would belong to the same fascicle by chance. With that in mind, it seems that the palm-leaf manuscripts in Takasago were only later associated with the legendary figure of Tenjiku Tokube.<sup>41</sup>

41 Another fascicle of a palm-leaf manuscript in Khom script is transmitted in the Zenryuji temple, located near the Jurinji temple in Takasago city. It is titled *bra maṅgaladīpanī-aṭṭhakathā-maṅgalasūtra*, *phuuk* 18. This manuscript is also believed to have been brought to Japan by Tenjiku Tokube, as a tomb believed to be his exists in the temple. However, it



FIGURE 6. *Vessantara Jātaka*. Palm-leaf manuscripts. Shinjoji temple, Takasago. Photographs by Toshiya Unebe.

According to the genealogical record, the Ozaki family in Hirado was originally from another port town, Ako (in the present-day Hyogo Prefecture, about fifty kilometers west of Takasago). And it is said that the father of Tokube was Ako-ya Tokuzemon (赤穂屋徳左衛門).<sup>42</sup> The name Ako-ya hints at some connection to a merchant family the port town of Ako. The Ozaki family might have had some relation to the Takasago temples or Tokube's family, although there is no evidence so far.

In any case, we may conclude that this is indeed a palm-leaf manuscript (or manuscripts) that was brought to Japan in the early seventeenth century.

## *Samut Khois in Japan*

There are six illustrated *samut khois* (folding books made of *khoi* mulberry paper) in Japan that I have investigated to date.<sup>43</sup> All of them are manuscripts of the *Phra Malai klon suat*, the most popular version of a tale of

---

appears to be a later, probably nineteenth-century, manuscript. In this case, the relation to Tokube is most probably a later attribution.

42 Yanagisawa, *Tenjiku-tokubei-jikki* [Real record of Tenjiku Tokube], 2–3.

43 For details, see Toshiya Unebe, ed., *A Study of Southeast Asian Buddhist Literature Based on Pāli and Thai Manuscripts* (Nagoya: Nagoya University, Graduate Schools of Letters, 2008), 130–90.



Phra Malai, a monk who can travel through hell and heaven, in the Thai vernacular language. They also have extracts from the Tipiṭaka before the story of the Phra Malai starts. They are transcribed in thin Khom script, although the colophons or notes about their production are occasionally in Thai characters. Only one of the illustrated *samut khois* is dated, but they were all made in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, holds three of these illustrated *samut khois*. Two of these are included in the Nakanishi Collection, which consists of a number of specimens of written and printed characters from all over the world, and was collected and donated to the museum by Akira Nakanishi, the president of a printing company. In addition to these, the most beautiful museum piece, numbered H0009692 (NME9692), is on permanent display. This manuscript has sixteen excellent paired illustrations and a colophon in Thai characters on the last two folios. According to the colophon, it was made on the first day of the waxing moon, the Sunday, in the fifth month of the year of the rabbit ending in number one, in the eleventh year of the reign [of Rama V]. This date corresponds to Sunday, 23 March 1879. Of the six *samut khois*, this is the only one for which a date can be specified. There is also a *samut khei* with a beautiful illustration of people chanting, from a palm-leaf manuscript housed in the Institute of Asian Ethno-Forms and Culture, Yokohama (fig. 7). This manuscript has a colophon in Khom script stating that it was transcribed on the “6th day of the waxing moon, of the 2nd month in the year of the rabbit”; however, this information is not enough to establish a year.

There is also a *samut khei* in the Kakuozan Nittaiji temple. Among the *samut khois* in Japan, this is the only one to have illustrations of the ten *jātakas* before the illustrations of Phra Malai. Although the manuscript has no colophon, its provenance was typed on a label pasted on the front cover.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> See Tanabe, “Comparative Study of the Differences,” 201–8, for the textual contents and pictures of illustrated folds.



FIGURE 7. Phra Malai. Paper manuscript (*samut kloi*). Illustration depicting chanting ceremony. Institute of Asian Ethno-Forms and Culture (Kazushige Kaneko), Yokohama. Photograph by Toshiya Unebe.

According to the label, it was donated by the chairperson of the Japan-Siam Association, Phra Bibidh Sali (พระพิพิธสาลี), on 16 January 1939.<sup>45</sup>

The last manuscript I will mention in this article is a *samut kloi* kept at the Omiya Library, Ryukoku University, Kyoto (fig. 8). Although this manuscript is also a typical Phra Malai *samut kloi*, it is special in that it is kept with a beautiful wooden box decorated with lacquer and gold. This type of box is often found in illustrations of *samut klois*, depicting the chanting ceremony using a *samut kloi*. We rarely see such a stunning example, however, even in temples in Thailand. From the illustrations, we can understand that the box was used not only as a container for a *samut kloi*, but also as a table for the chanting ceremony.

Since palm-leaf manuscripts and illustrated *samut klois* were brought to Japan, they have been enjoyed largely as treasures or beautiful artifacts

45 For Phra Bibidh Sali, see Eiji Murashima and Sennosuke Yoshida, *Senzen no Zaidanboujin Nihonotaikyokai Kaibou-shusei Kaidai* [Survey on Japan-Thailand Association bulletin in pre-war period] (Tokyo: Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, 2013), 166, 173, 179, 181, <http://hdl.handle.net/2065/39145>, accessed 13 December 2016. It reports that he was “a vice-chairperson of Japan-Thailand Association (Bongkok),” and he sent another “Buddhist Scripture in Thailand in 9 vols.” to Zenkoji (Nagano) according to the *Japan-Thailand Association Bulletin* 19 (1940).



FIGURE 8. Phra Malai. Paper manuscript (*samut khoi*) and its wooden box. Ryukoku University, Omiya Library, Kyoto. Photograph courtesy of Ryukoku University Library. Manuscript illustration depicts Phra Malai and Sakka at Tāvātimsa heaven, and a pair of deities coming to the heaven. Photograph courtesy of Ryukoku University Library.

within libraries and temples. They have never been recited as these illustrations convey, or read as Buddhist scriptures. I hope that they will be at least read as scriptures, and that philological research on them will progress in the future.<sup>46</sup>

46 Several studies on the *Paññāsa Jātaka* manuscripts kept in the Otani University Library have been completed so far. See A. A. Toshiya, “Not for the Achievement of a *Sāvaka* or *Pacceka* *buddha*: The Motive Behind the Bodhisatta’s Self-Sacrifice in the *Paññāsa-Jātaka*,” *Buddhist Studies Review* 29, no. 1 (2012): 35–56, as an example.

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CITED

---

- Baltimore, Walters Art Museum  
W. 716: 192 n. 7
- Bangkok, Wat Suthat  
Wat Suthat Thep Wararam: 141–42, 142  
fig. 15
- Berlin, Berlin State Library  
Akta III F 17a 1834/1857: 90 n. 21  
MIK I 1430–32: 86 n. 12  
MIK 14745: 86 n. 12  
Ms. or. fol. 333–36: 90, 90 n. 22  
Ms. or. fol. 337–38: 91  
Ms. or. fol. 557–60: 85 n. 7  
Ms. or. fol. 3183–268: 101  
Ms. or. fol. 6563: 85 n.5, 86 n. 12  
Ms. or. fol. 6602–3: 86 n. 12  
Ms. or. fol. 7955: 86 n. 12  
Ms. or. 10612: 86 n. 12
- Berlin, Ethnological Museum  
Akte 24/3.94: 97 n. 48  
Berlin IC 13972: 96 n. 43
- Boston, Boston Public Library  
MS pb Med. 35: 260  
MS pb Med. 110.1–110.2: 259  
MS q Med. 85: 260
- Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum  
2.c.3.23: 260  
6.T.1: 259
- Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museum/  
Fogg Museum  
1954.127.A-B: 259
- Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library,  
Harvard University  
MS Richardson 42: 259
- MS Typ 37: 258  
MS Typ 956: 259  
MS Typ. 215: 258  
MS Typ 220: 258  
MS Typ 277: 258  
MS Typ 439: 209 n. 7, 219 n. 13  
MS 584: 258  
Thai manuscript #73: 219 n. 14
- Dresden, Dresden State Library  
6717–24: 85 n. 4  
6726–28: 85 n. 4  
6730: 85 n. 4  
25888: 85 n. 4  
33479 a: 85 n. 4  
34575: 85 n. 4
- Dresden, Ethnological Museum  
6730 Siam: 94  
25888 Siam: 100  
34575 Siam: 94
- Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen  
Ca-129: 88
- Dublin, Chester Beatty Library  
CB Thai 1302: 188, 196–98, 197 fig. 10,  
198 fig. 11  
CB Thai 1309: 188–89  
CB Thai 1310: 188, 189–90  
CB Thai 1319: 189, 190–93, 191  
figs. 8–9,  
CB Thai 1330: 179–87, 180 figs. 3–4, 181  
figs. 5–6, 182 fig. 7  
CB Thai 1331: 198–99  
CB Thai 1343: 188, 199, 200 fig. 12  
CB Thai 1349: 193–94  
CB Thai 1351: 194–95  
CB Thai 1352: 195–96

- CB Thai 1353: 200  
 CB Thai 1354: 200–201
- Gotha, State Archive  
 Ms. As. orient. No. 33: 92 n. 28
- Hamburg, Ethnological Museum  
 13.54:2–4: 85 n. 6  
 16.40:5: 85 n. 6  
 1532:08: 85 n. 6  
 1532:08a: 85 n. 6  
 3033:07: 85 n. 6  
 6717–28 Siam: 92 n. 30  
 A 26: 85 n. 6  
 A 46: 92  
 A 903–4: 85 n. 6
- Hirado, Matsura Historical Museum  
 A replica of the Horyuji Sanskrit manuscript. Paper manuscript.: 164–65, 166 fig. 4, 167  
 Vessantara Jātaka. Paper manuscript: 163–64, 165 fig. 3
- Kyoto, Omiya Library, Ryukoku University  
 Phra Malai. Paper manuscript (samut khoi): 172, 173 fig. 8
- London, British Library  
 Add. MS 27370: 27  
 Add. MS 20698: 247  
 IOR L/MAR/A/XIII, ff. 28/29: 26  
 MS Pali 207: 27  
 Or 6942: 29  
 Or 11827: 26  
 Or 11828: 27  
 Or 13652: 27  
 Or 14068: 27  
 Or 14179: 27  
 Or 14528–29: 27  
 Or 14613: 27  
 Or 14722: 27  
 Or 14732: 27  
 Or 14559: 27  
 Or 14664: 27
- Or 15245: 27  
 Or 15749: 29  
 Or 16009: 27  
 Or 16552: 27, 39–48, 42 fig. 5, 43 fig. 6, 44 fig. 7, 47 fig. 8, 48 fig. 9
- London, Lambeth Palace Library  
 MS. 461: 242, 244  
 MS. 528: 245  
 MS. 1176: 242–3, 245–6  
 MS. 1177: 242  
 MS. 1182: 245  
 MS. 1183: 242  
 MS. 1186: 245  
 MS. 1187: 242–43  
 MS. 1188: 242–43, 246  
 MS. 1191–92: 245  
 MS. 1194: 245  
 MS. 1195: 242  
 MS. 1197: 242  
 MS. 1199: 242, 244  
 MS. 1205: 244–45  
 MS. 1214: 242  
 MS. 2794: 242, 244  
 MS. 2795: 244  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G1: 243  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G5: 242–43  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G6: 242–44  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G7: 243, 245  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G9: 242–44  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G10: 242  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G11: 243, 246  
 MS. Sion L40.2/G12: 242–44
- London, Royal Asiatic Society  
 RAS Thai MS 2: 58, 71 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 4–6: 71 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 7: 71–72 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 8–9: 72 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 10.A–B: 72 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 13: 72 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 14: 72–73 appx. 2  
 RAS Thai MS 15–20: 73 appx. 2

- RAS Thai MS 21: 73–74 appx. 2  
RAS Thai MS 21.A-C: 74 appx. 2  
RAS Thai MS 21.E: 74 appx. 2  
RAS Thai MS 30: 74 appx. 2
- London, Wellcome Library  
9541: 70 appx. 2  
MS 801: 70 appx. 2  
Thai 1–4: 62 appx. 2  
Thai 5: 62–63 appx. 2  
Thai 5/10818: 70 appx. 2  
Thai 6–11: 63 appx. 2  
Thai 12: 63–64 appx. 2  
Thai 13–18: 64 appx. 2  
Thai 19–30: 65 appx. 2  
Thai 31–37: 66 appx. 2  
Thai 38–44: 67 appx. 2  
Thai 45–51: 68 appx. 2  
Thai 52: 68–69 appx. 2  
Thai 53–59: 69 appx. 2  
Thai 60–61: 70 appx. 2  
Thai 64: 70 appx. 2  
WMS Pāli Thai 22: 71 appx. 2  
WMS Thai Lao: 70 appx. 2
- Manchester, John Rylands Library  
Pali MS 82: 79–80 appx. 2  
Siamese (Thai) MS 1–4: 77 appx. 2  
Siamese (Thai) MS 5–10: 78 appx. 2  
Siamese (Thai) MS 11: 78–79 appx. 2
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek  
(Bavarian State Library)  
BSB cod.siam 1: 91 n. 25  
BSB cod.siam 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18, 31:  
86 n. 11  
BSB cod.siam 33: 87 n. 15  
BSB cod.siam 35: 85, 85 n. 9, 86 n. 11  
BSB cod.siam 36, 93, 106, 107, 108, 110,  
111: 86 n. 11  
BSB cod.siam 98: 86  
BSB cod.siam 129: 85  
BSB cod.siam 130: 86 n. 11  
BSB cod.siam 149: 85
- BSB cod.siam 189: 85  
BSB cod.siam 193: 85
- Naples, Biblioteca Maurizio Taddei,  
University of Naples “L’Orientale”  
Uncatalogued manuscript, Ratanakosin  
period: 113–18, 115 fig. 1, 116 figs. 2–3,  
117 fig. 4, 119 fig. 5  
Uncatalogued manuscript, Ratanakosin  
period: 118–21, 120 fig. 6  
Uncatalogued manuscript, Ratanakosin  
period: 121–22, 123 fig. 7
- New York, Burke Library of the Union  
Theological Seminary  
Manuscript 21 (Poleman 6376): 215  
Manuscript 22 (Poleman 6399): 215  
Museum KP23.9/Library No. 1177: 215
- New York, New York Public Library  
Thai/Spencer Collection manuscript  
numbers 6, 7, 22, 25: 214  
Siamese Manuscript no. 1: 214  
Siamese Manuscript no. 3: 214  
Siamese Manuscript no. 4: 214
- Osaka, National Museum of Ethnology  
H0009692 (NME9692): 171  
Phra Malai. Paper manuscript (samut  
khai): 171, 172 fig. 7
- Oxford, Bodleian Library  
BODL. Dep. Stol. 111: 74–75 appx. 2  
BODL. Dep. Stol. 112: 75 appx. 2  
BODL. Dep. Stol. 113: 75 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. a. 8(R):  
75 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. a. 9(R):  
75 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. a. 11(R):  
76 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. a. 23(R):  
76 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. a. 25(R):  
76 appx. 2

- BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. c. 16(R):  
76 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Asiat. Misc. c. 27(R):  
76 appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Pali. a. 27(R): 20  
BODL. Ms. Pali. a. 31(R): 76–77  
appx. 2  
BODL. Ms. Pali. a. 50(R): 77 appx. 2
- Pakkret, Thailand  
A Mon palm-leaf manuscript from  
Pakkret, Thailand: 143 figs. 16–18
- Phetchaburi, Thailand, Wat Pak Khlong  
1. Miscellaneous chants, late Ayutthaya  
period (Wat Pak Khlong No. 3): 136–38,  
137 figs. 5–6, 137 n. 19  
2. Miscellaneous chants, early Bangkok  
period (Wat Pak Khlong No. 1):  
136, 138–40, 139 figs. 7–9, 140 figs.  
11–14  
3. Delineation of monastic boundaries,  
CE 1874: 136, 143–6, 144 fig. 18,  
145 figs. 19–20, 146 fig. 22, 157 figs.  
22–23  
4. An astrological manuscript written in  
yellow pigment, early twentieth century:  
136, 146–48, 148 fig. 24  
5. Phra Malai Klon Suat, in Thai  
language, late Ayutthaya Khom script:  
136
- Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania  
Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology  
Obj. # 29–170–11: 203 fig. 1, 205 fig. 2,  
206 n. 3  
Obj. # 29–170–12: 207 n. 5  
Ms. 89–13–251: 235–37
- Philadelphia, University of  
Pennsylvania Library  
Ms. Coll. 390, Item 2990: 223, 223 n. 20  
Ms. Coll. 390, Item 2991: 224–26,  
224 n. 23  
Ms. Coll. 390, Item 2992: 223–24,  
224 n. 21  
Ms. Coll. 990, Item 5: 229, 233, 235
- Stuttgart, Linden Museum  
Hs. 56816 siam: 98  
Hs. 56817 siam: 98
- Takasago, Jurinji temple  
Vessantara Jātaka: 168–69, 169 fig. 5
- Takasago, Shinjoji temple  
Vessantara Jātaka: 169, 170 fig. 6
- Takasago, Zenryuji temple  
Bra maṅgaladipani-aṭṭhakathā-  
maṅgalasūtra, phuuk 18: 169–70 n. 41
- Wellesley, MA, Wellesley College,  
Margaret Clapp Library  
MS 33: 259